

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05 /120 W

-----017648 241757Z /43

R 240956Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3121

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0771

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, SW

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: VISIT OF NUJOMA TO SWEDEN

REF: A) USUN 595, B) STOCKHOLM 703, C) STOCKHOLM 731

1. SUMMARY: DURING TALKS BETWEEN GOS AND SWAPO LEADER  
NUJOMA IN STOCKHOLM ON FEBRUARY 20-21, SWAPO POSITIONS  
REVEALED IN NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS WERE LARGELY CONFIRMED.  
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PARTICULAR ADAMANCY WAS EXPRESSED BY NUJOMA ON WALVIS BAY  
ISSUE AND REQUIREMENT FOR STRONG UN FORCE TO MONITOR AND  
SAFEGUARD TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. NUJOMA RECEIVED  
GOS ASSURANCES OF CONTINUED STRONG SWEDISH POLITICAL AND  
FINANCIAL SUPPORT AS WELL AS GOS AGREEMENT WITH SWAPO  
VIEW THAT "NEXT STEPS" IN PROCESS ARE LARGELY THE  
RESPONSIBILITY OF WESTERN FIVE AND SOUTH AFRICANS.

END SUMMARY.

2. ON FEBRUARY 22, POLCOUNS JOINED REPS OF OTHER WESTERN FIVE EMBASSIES TO RECEIVE MFA BRIEFING ON VISIT OF SWAPO LEADER SAM NUJOMA TO STOCKHOLM ON FEBRUARY 20-21. BRIEFING WAS TENDERED BY MFA AFRICAN DIVISION CHIEF JAN AF SILLEN. DURING VISIT, NUJOMA AND FOUR SWAPO COLLEAGUES MET WITH FM SODER, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE MINISTER ULLSTEN, SIDA CHIEF MICHANEK AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

3. IN HIS "OFFICIAL" TALKS, NUJOMA DESCRIBED THE NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS IN SOME DETAIL BUT REVEALED LITTLE NOT ALREADY KNOWN BY GOS FROM NORDIC BRIEFINGS DESCRIBED FEB A. GOS OFFICIALS WHO HAVE DEALT OFTEN WITH NUJOMA IN THE PAST, AF SILLEN SAID, WERE VERY IMPRESSED WITH "NEW" SWAPO LEADER. IN THE PAST, NUJOMA HAS COME ACROSS AS EVASIVE, INDECISIVE AND EVEN MOROSE. IN STOCKHOLM AT LEAST, THE SWEDES NOW FOUND HIM VERY RELAXED, OPEN, CLEAR, AND DETERMINED. AF SILLEN THOUGHT THE EXPLANATION LAY IN (A) A RESOLUTION OF SWAPO'S PAST INTERNAL LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS--NUJOMA IS NOW CLEARLY IN CONTROL AND CARRIES A BROAD MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE, AND (B) THE NEW YORK MEETINGS WHERE NUJOMA THOUGHT SWAPO WILLINGNESS TO ENTERTAIN COMPROMISE HAD BEEN AMPLY DEMONSTRATED WHILE SOUTH AFRICAN RIGIDITY WAS ON DISPLAY. BOTHA'S ATTEMPTS TO PLAY ON AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION HAS FAILED  
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AND HIS SUDDEN DEPARTURE FROM SOUTH AFRICA HAS REINFORCED AN IMPRESSION OF SAG STUBBORNNESS. NUJOMA MADE CLEAR IN STOCKHOLM THAT "NEXT STEPS" MUST BE COMPOSED OF INCREASED WF PRESSURES ON SAG TO FORCE LATTER TO ADJUST TO THE REALITIES INVOLVED. NUJOMA MENTIONED THAT A SPECIAL UN SESSION ON NAMIBIA WOULD BE HELD THIS SPRING (MAY) AND EMPHASIZED THE CRITICAL NEED FOR PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE INTERIM.

4. ON SPECIFIC ISSUES, NUJOMA'S STATEMENTS HERE BROKE LITTLE NEW GROUND:

A. SECURITY: SWAPO'S POSITION IS RATHER CLOSE TO THE WF PROPOSAL AS REGARDS THE NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN NAMIBIA DURING TRANSITION PERIOD. NUJOMA DWELT ON THE DISPARITY IN THE NUMBERS OF POLICE NOW IN NAMIBIA, SAYING THAT WHILE SAG ADMITS TO A COMBINED TOTAL OF 20,000 POLICE, SWAPO'S ESTIMATE IS 50,000, INCLUDING "ONE DIVISION" AT WALVIS BAY.

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
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R 240956Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3122  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0771

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

B. WALVIS BAY: AS MENTIONED REF A, NUJOMA IS INSISTING  
THAT THIS ISSUE CANNOT BE SHELVED, EVEN TEMPORARILY, AND  
MUST BE PART OF ANY SETTLEMENT. SWAPO CONSIDERS WALVIS BAY  
AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA AND WOULD OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO  
BRING THE DISPUTE BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OR OTHER  
ARBITRATION PROCEDURE. WALVIS BAY IS A POLITICAL AND  
NOT LEGAL ISSUE. (AF SILLEN CONFIDED THAT GOS BELIEVES  
SWAPO'S CASE IS GOOD LOOKED AT FROM BOTH ASPECTS.)

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C. UN PRESENCE: NUJOMA REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT SWAPO

BELIEVES A SUBSTANTIAL UN FORCE IS REQUIRED--1,000 CIVILIANS AND 5,000 MILITARY WERE SPECIFIED. HE SAID THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST HAVE BROAD AUTHORITY OVER ALL ASPECTS OF THE TRANSITIONS.

D. ELECTIONS: THE SWAPO DELEGATION STRESSED THAT SWAPO IS QUITE PREPARED TO COMPETE IN FREE ELECTIONS PROVIDED THEY ARE CLOSELY MONITORED BY THE UN. SWAPO IS CONFIDENT UNDER THESE CONDITIONS OF CAPTURING A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY.

E. POLITICAL PRISONERS: NUJOMA DENIED THAT SWAPO DISSIDENTS ARE JAILED IN ZAMBIA, BUT ADMITTED THAT A NUMBER WHO HAD BEEN IN ZAMBIA WERE NOW IMPRISONED IN TANZANIA WITH OTHER "TRAITORS AND COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES." NUJOMA IMPLIED THAT, IF AND WHEN THOSE IMPRISONED IN TANZANIA ARE RELEASED, THEY MUST STILL FACE AND ACCEPT THE "JUDGEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE" FOR PAST ACTIVITIES.

5. SWAPO DESIRES AN EARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BUT MUST CONTINUE THE ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SAG HAS AGREED TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE SWAPO VERSION OF THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. IT IS UP TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, NJUMO SAID, AND SPECIFICALLY THE WESTERN FIVE, TO INCREASE PRESSURES ON THE SAG NOW. NUJOMA SUGGESTED THAT MANY PRESSURES, INCLUDING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, WERE AVAILABLE.

6. WHILE FIRST INDICATING THAT AN "INTERNAL SOLUTION" IN RHODESIA WOULD HAVE NO AFFECT ON NAMIBIAN DEVELOPMENTS, NUJOMA LATER IN TALKS EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH THE SWEDISH ANALYSIS THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF SMITH'S SCHEME COULD WELL BE A DESTABILIZING FACTOR IN THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION.

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7. AF SILLEN SAID THAT NUJOMA REQUESTED ADDITIONAL GOS FUNDS FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES. (ON FEBRUARY 23 THE GOS ANNOUNCED AN IMMEDIATE FURTHER SWEDISH CROWNS 1.5 MILLION CONTRIBUTION (EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE) TO SWAPO TO HELP REFUGEES STREAMING TO SOUTHERN ANGOLA.) ASKED WHAT, IN GOS VIEW NEXT STEP SHOULD BE, AF SILLEN SAID THAT FM SODER WOULD PROBABLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION BY INDICATING AGREEMENT WITH THE SWAPO POSITION, I.E., IT IS UP TO THE WESTERN FIVE, PARTICULARLY IN PRETORIA, TO COUNCIL THE SAG TO ACCEPT THE WF PROPOSAL "AS AMENDED BY THE NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS."

8. COMMENT: IT IS AS CLEAR AS IT HAS EVER BEEN THAT OFFICIAL SWEDISH SENTIMENT AND SUPPORT IN THE NAMIBIAN DISPUTE, AS IN THE RHODESIAN QUESTION, CONTINUES TO FAVOR THOSE WHO PURSUE THE ARMED STRUGGLE. TO BE FAIR, THE

EMBASSY DOES NOT QUESTION GOS STATEMENTS THAT SWEDEN  
HOPES FOR A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND CONSIDERS  
THE WF PROPOSAL THE MOST HOPEFUL POINT OF DEPARTURE TOWARD  
THAT END. BUT WE ALSO CONCLUDED THAT IN THE GOS VIEW,  
THE GREAT BULK OF THE MANY COMPROMISES STILL REQUIRED  
REMAINS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SOUTH AFRICA. AND THAT  
IT IS MAINLY THE WF WHO MUST FORCE THE SAG, THROUGH  
PERSUASION AND ADDED PRESSURE IF NECESSARY, TO  
RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THIS REALITY.  
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## Message Attributes

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